Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the composing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of [195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation. 538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

538 Direct quotations in a story are always pitched higher than the ordinary speaking tone. This is a matter of convention and it makes no difference whether it is a giant or a small child who is supposed to be speaking. There is no attempt to imitate the voice of the subject speaking; the high pitched tone indicating that the narrative is broken by a quotation is sufficient. The end of a descriptive sequence or of the development of a minor or major theme within the story as a whole is always indicated by the word oti (finished). The use of this word roughly corresponds with our own tendency to pause in speaking or to end a paragraph in writing. Continued action or passage of time is indicated by a long drawn out e-e-e sound. Where a final adverb is used to qualify a statement as in the phrase: "He speared him makeke (hard)", the adverb is pronounced with force, very slowly and with great facial gesture. A final convention that may be noticed is the almost complete absence of the third person nominative and accusative pronouns in story telling. No confusion seems to be caused the Pukapukan auditor by this omission, though it sometimes renders it difficult for a European auditor to follow the sense of the particular passage. The place of the pronoun however is often taken by a repetition of the proper name of the person affected. The beginning of a story is usually devoted to an enumeration of the names of the people about whom the story is told, their sex and lineage affiliation.

126 Most of the stories were dictated by Veti and Pau. Talainga wrote out several of the longer stories in Pukapukan. Stories without text were secured from a group of informants. They were generally told by one narrator who stopped at frequent intervals to consult with his companions in order to be sure of the continuation of the narrative.

538 An attempt was made by some informants to distinguish two types of stories (tala): tala wenua and tala wanongo. The distinction, made notably by Talainga, though not absolutely clear, seems to be this: Tala wenua are stories about Pukapuka, its origin and history; tala wanongo are Pukapukan stories which relate events that occurred elsewhere. Of the stories he recorded, Talainga named as tala wanongo the story of Maui's fishing up of Tonga, the story of Laumeakula and Laumeamelo, the story of the raising of the sky, and the story of the tavake bird. The other stories he recorded, of the voyage of Wue, of the defecating of Yawau, of the fight in Waletoa, are tala wenua. Other informants disagreed with Talainga's classification but could not clarify the matter. Because it is obscure in the first place and, secondly, cuts across the accepted classification of myths and folktales, the

538 native classification is not here followed.
801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Mauikatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale, very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next. At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (tangata manamana), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft. At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (talotalo), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the inter-relations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is
522 given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over,
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] [226] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten [226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, "I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! . pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatateki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[171] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan
[538] version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
You crawl on the roof,
You jump down to the end rafters.
We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
You are killed by the people
And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions
171 of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
566 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai pafanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it be until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[71] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 773 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conns shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecdotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko Kiolelea te matua tane; ko Kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kula. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawale, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te papanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kiolelea ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa laa matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Tela ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino. E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kale imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yolo mai na toe takanga. Pela mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, paknongea, wakawewewewela. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momotoia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale o Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kiolelea ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Moa loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na pale. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takale i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kiolelea was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kiolelea and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

Of Wekeli

539 [833] The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 837 762 The stories of adultery describe the supernbrmal or secular punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

538 The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for
577 two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that
681 of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 The following group of stories defies any simple classifi-
773 cation. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the
[181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command, and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 773 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare!"

Tana gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua men were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au nai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvae).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.